Gazette of the United States.

No. XV. From SATURDAY, MAY 30, to WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3, 1789. PRICE SIX PENCE.

THE TABLET.——No. XV.

"The wiſeſt laws often become odious and uſeleſs, through the raſhneſs, the vice, or the folly of thoſe who execute them."

THERE is no propenſity of the human mind, that is more conſtantly on the ſtretch, than a ſuſpicous temper towards thoſe, who take any part in the adminiſtration of public affairs. Though this diſpoſition may be indulged to exceſs, yet its exiſtence conſtitutes one of the ſafeguards of public virtue and proſperity. The clamors of reſtleſs men, and the vigilance of jealous ones, have no doubt an influence, in reſtraining public officers from an improper conduct. As men ſometimes complain without ſufficient reaſon, their complaints do not furniſh a certain ſtandard, for eſtimating the merit of perſons in the different branches of government. There is leſs probability that inſtances of real miſconduct will eſcape notice and cenſure, than that meritorious actions will eſcape envy and low intrigue. If it is acknowledged that part of the murmurs and uneaſineſs, that prevail againſt public men, originates in ignorance, caprice, envy, or in any other unreaſonable cauſe, it would ſtill be no concluſive argument, that public characters ſhould be indifferent, whether their conduct was blamed or praiſed. It ſhould at leaſt produce this effect; that as they meet with much *groundleſs* reproach, they ſhould be careful not to make themſelves liable to any reprehenſion that is *well grounded*. Many honeſt and ſenſible men, who act in dignified ſtations, are ſo conſcious that they meet with more cenſure and oppoſition than they deſerve, that they are apt, by way of retaliation, to become petulent and diſdainful. Sometimes they carry their feelings of reſentment ſo far, towards unprovoked abuſe and injury, that they afford a ſufficient cauſe for the return of that very treatment, which they are retaliating. Diſguſted by the meaneſs, and provoked by the malice and ſlander of their oppoſers, they unwarily aſſimilate themſelves, by their mode of revenge, to the characters they profeſs to reprobate.

It is a queſtion that may naturally be aſked—What vices and failings, in the uſual run of affairs, are moſt obſervable in the officers of government? This queſtion admits not of an anſwer that is definite, and applicable to all ſituations. In different ſtages of civilization, there is a difference in the predominant vices and weakneſſes, that attend all deſcriptions of men. The errors, that are obſerved in the firſt periods of a government, often have their origin in an ignorance or neglect of duty. During the late war, the principal loſſes and damage the public ſuſtained, were owing to inattention and waſtefulneſs. Few inſtances of deliberate fraud and peculation have happened, compared with the miſtakes and omiſſions that have occurred, merely from the imbecility of the motives, that prompted men to a vigilant and exact performance of the diverſified branches of their duty. It was not unuſual to obſerve a ſtore-keeper, who was minutely attentive in ſecuring the property committed to his care, from theft or unauthorized appropriation; and yet who was totally remiſs in ſecuring it againſt the attacks of weather, or in counteracting any inherent cauſes in ſuch articles to periſh from their own tendency.

Once in particular, I recollect to have obſerved, a Comiſſary making application to the commanding officer of a department, for a guard of ſoldiers, to be placed over a magazine of flour. This Comiſſary expreſſed an anxiety in the buſineſs, that ſeemed to reſult from an honeſt deſire to ſave the public property. He obtained an order for the guard, and placed it, without loſs of time, over the magazine. The flour caſks were without ſhelter, and in ſo bad repair, that a moderate ſtorm of rain would ſo injure the flour, as to render it totally uſeleſs. It happened ſhortly that ſome rain fell, and in ſpite of all the ſentinels, the flour was materially damaged, if not ruined. The Comiſſary could have prevented this damage, with leſs trouble to himſelf, than he took to obtain the ſoldiers; and the United States ſuffered more by that act of neglect, than they would have done, in ſix months, by plunder, at that magazine, even though there had not been a ſentinel employed the whole time.

But that period is paſt. A new government is eſtabliſhed, and an higher degree of civilization is attained; conſequently we muſt look out for a different claſs of imperfections and vices. In the formation of the executive part of the conſtitution there is an admirable ſtimulus ſuggeſted, by encreaſing the reſponſibility of officers, from the manner of their appointment. This will overcome indolence, and make them attentive and circumſpect in a complete performance of their duty, that they may gain the approbation of thoſe, who participate in the ſame feelings of reſponſibility. But are no diſadvantages introduced by this arrangement? What are the inconveniencies of this ſpecies of reſponſibility, and how may they be remedied? Thoſe, who are to be employed in the execution of the laws, will be reſponſible for their conduct in ſuch a way, as will ſtimulate their exertions, and reſtrain their diſhoneſty; but as they are not accountable to their fellow-citizens, they will feel themſelves releaſed from the neceſſity of a civil, reſpectful deportment to mankind, and aſſume a pride and arrogance of manners towards all, who move in a ſphere leſs elevated than their own. Such inſolence of behaviour, may naturally be expected to reſult from the caſe, and it will be calculated to render the government odious, and to ſubject the laws to the imputation of being oppreſſive. I am far, however, from anticipating any ſudden evils from this quarter. But as this is to be the vicious part of the character of offices ſooner or later, it may be well to endeavour to ward of the evil, to as remote a period as poſſible. Perhaps no deſcription of men whatever are ſo blindly ignorant of the true principles of human nature, as the various executive officers in an old-eſtabliſhed government. If we critically examine the ſubject, we ſhall find that the leading cauſe why officers in general are ſo obnoxious to the people, and ſo many laws complained of as grievous, is, that ſuch officers make it no part of their ſtudy to underſtand the various ſprings and operations of the human mind.

Every ſituation in life has virtues and vices peculiar to itſelf. Officers elected by the people can generally find an eaſier way of obtaining popularity, than the laborious taſk of performing their duty. They can promote their purpoſes better, by flattering the prejudices, than by ſerving the intereſt of their conſtituents. On the other hand, officers appointed by the Supreme Magiſtrate, can only gain his approbation, by a rigorous execution of duty. In accompliſhing this object, they feel no reſponſibility to ſociety in general, and are apt to neglect thoſe common civilities, which one perſon uſually expects from another; and which if *they* obſerved, would render them agreeable, and their office acceptable. In either of theſe caſes, a man of a liberal and virtuous mind avoids the errors, into which, by his ſituation, he has a tendency to fall. A man well acquainted with the human character, and who poſſeſſes honeſt principles, may always perform his duty with fidelity and honor, and at the ſame time acquire eſtimation, for his amiable and civil deportment, from all claſſes of citizens.

An inſolent, overbearing conduct may be compatible with the ſtricteſt integrity; but it argues either a weak underſtanding, or an erroneous education. Though a man of this caſt may not himſelf connive at any frauds againſt government, yet his manners and converſation are ſo diſguſting, that he raiſes enemies againſt the laws, and in that way, very often provokes fraudulent combinations. It is difficult to eſtimate preciſely the evils ſuch characters produce in ſociety; but I believe a conſiderable part of the diſcontentment and knavery, that exiſt in any government, are inſtigated by the injudicious conduct of public officers. The people aſſociate their ideas, in ſuch a manner, as to imagine that the occaſional miſmanagement of individuals is a fault neceſſarily incident to government; and therefore ſuppoſe, that an evaſion of law is juſtifiable, no leſs than oppoſition and hatred to thoſe who execute the laws.

The preſent age is a period of experiment and improvement. It is eaſy for us to trace public diſorders to their true ſources; but it will be more difficult to apply ſuitable remedies. It will not be attainable to avoid ſuch inconveniencies altogether; but when we know how liable they are to happen, it ſhould induce us to guard againſt them, as far as may be practicable. For this purpoſe, it ſhould be one circumſtance to be conſidered in eſtimating the qualifications of public officers, whether they combine ſuch properties as will lead to an able and faithful diſcharge of their duty, and at the ſame time, render their ſervices not odious and contemptible to the people.—It may appear capricious to ſuggeſt the idea, but I think it will occur on a little reflection, that no man notoriouſly unpopular, ſhould ever be employed in any important office. Though I acknowledge, that popularity is often connected with meaneſs and knavery; yet I have obſerved, that characters who are extremely obnoxious, are ſo defective, either in talents or prudence, as to diſqualify them from acting in any ſtation, with reputation to themſelves or advantage to the community.

Many perſons are ſo ignorant of the principles of human nature, as to imagine, that they can only diſcover an honeſty and firmneſs of conduct, by a captious temper, and a domineering deportment. It ſeems not to occur to ſuch people, that diſcretion ſhould ever be ranked among the uſeful qualifications of a public officer. By this means, their virtues, and ſuch good qualities as they really do poſſeſs, loſe their beneficial influence.

If one were enquired of, whether the propenſity of the people to complain of publick meaſures without *any* cauſe was greater, than the liability of officers to give *actual* occaſion of offence, it would be difficult to adjuſt an anſwer to the queſtion. It is evident, that moſt of the clamors againſt public meaſures, do not proceed from motives that are pure and diſintereſted; but then, this malignity of motives is heightened by the ill nature and diſcontentment, which are excited by real miſmanagement.

A SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF AMERICA.

[Continued from No. XIV.]

A MERE deſcription, or definition, of certain powers to be veſted in a conſtituent body of men, has never yet been found to poſſeſs intuitively thoſe effects, which anſwer the end and aim for which all power was originally delegated; nor has the moſt diffuſive patriotiſm, operating among any people, towards the aid of Government, yet ſuperceded the want of that encouragement to duty, which ariſes from the emoluments of office: But all nations have uniformly deemed it neceſſary to call for a portion of the wealth of their citizens, to eſtabliſh and ſupport Government in its various executive branches.—This fact being eſtabliſhed, the moſt obvious reflection which preſents itſelf is, how is this neceſſary ſupport to be obtained with the greateſt eaſe? And ſo as to bear moſt equally on the different claſſes of the people, and the various intereſts of the community? The varying practices of different nations, make the ſolution of this queſtion in a degree problematical, and to depend on a combination of circumſtances and cauſes, which it would require a volume to explore, and far exceeds the bounds of my preſent deſign.

I conceive the beſt criterion for us will be, to commence with an inveſtigation of natural principles, and their correſponding effects, which an acquaintance with human nature, will enable us to develope, and as far as a detail of reaſoning may be neceſſary, that we limit our reſearches to thoſe caſes, which apply beſt to the conſequence.—It is to be regretted, that for want of a prior ſyſtem on this ſubject, owing to our late unhinged and divided ſituation, we evidently feel the loſs of thoſe accurate data, and that compleat information from the various parts of the Continent, which would ſubſerve the moſt valuable purpoſes.—I ſhall venture a few ideas, on the proper mode of obtaining ſuch information in future, in ſome ſubſequent paper.

We now come to ſpeak of the moſt eligible plan, on which to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies of Government—and ſhall here find it expedient to conſult the peculiar genius of the American people, and ſome leading traits of the human character:—There is ever a prevailing jealouſy among the maſs of a free people, relating to the grants and appropriations of their pecuniary property: It will hence follow, that ſuch a ſyſtem of taxation ſhould be adopted, as will, in its operation, touch moſt delicately this tender ſtring; and that the objects, for which any aſſeſſments are made, ſhould be regularly publiſhed, except in caſes of war, &c. where the public good makes ſecrecy indiſpenſible: Perhaps no people exiſting ever poſſeſſed, in a greater degree, that kind of jealouſy above mentioned, than the Americans, and which in ſome inſtances, deſcends to mean ſuſpicions: It will therefore be thought proper in forming the Revenue Syſtem, not only to have a regard to the intereſts which will be immediately affected thereby; but to the peculiar nature and genius of the people to be governed; let the "*ſuaviter in modo*" be adopted, but without looſing ſight of the "*fortiter in re.*" The liberal, or rather looſe principles of government heretofore exiſting in America, have been, and without the niceſt hand in future directions, may continue to be oppoſed to bringing into action thoſe great reſources of national wealth, which are to be found, if explored. The native enterprize of Americans towards the extenſion of commerce, affords us a a fair proſpect of collecting an important ſhare of the public revenue from foreign importations, if the tariff is levied with judgment; and perhaps for the preſent this will be conſidered the only ſource of national conſequence: Foreign luxuries brought into this country ought to be duly noticed by our impoſt laws, as common obſervation and conſtant experience dictate the policy of taxing the paſſions of mankind, which may tend to good moral as well as political purpoſes, and is a ſpecies of taxation, which will be more cheerfully ſuſtained, as men but little value any obſtacles

while purſuing the gratification of their natural or artificial propenſities: From this cauſe, Britons with all their boaſted freedom, conſent to bear willingly the greateſt burthens. I have been ſpeaking of luxuries, but in general obſerve, In order that our expectations may not be defeated, a nice diſtinction ought to be made as to the quantum each ſpecific article imported will probably bear, and that while we ſuppoſe our public coffers daily increaſing, the fact may not be that a premium is held out by government to defraud the revenue. This has been often the caſe where exorbitant and ill-judged duties have been laid, calculated upon the miſtaken principle, that the conſumer eventually bears the burthen, whereas experience teaches us that the original importer is very often in ſuch caſes the ſufferer, as there are many articles which may not bear the additional price of the duty, and a curtail of the conſumption follows, leaving the ſurplus as a heavy tax in the merchant's hands, the whole duty on which he is bound to diſcharge; but while a proper caution is obſerved as to thoſe articles from which we expect to derive an income, there are others we are to conſider in a different view; and as they may relate to our manufactures: here it will be found our policy to give every encouragement to the raw materials of foreign growth, and which our country does not afford, which ought to be introduced without burthens, that we may export them afterwards with the additional price of the labor upon them, which is the moſt beneficial part of commerce, as employing the greateſt number of hands—and the cheapneſs of the raw material will tend to give a preference in competition at foreign markets: Upon like principles every diſcouragement ought to be placed upon the introduction of foreign wrought articles, which may be manufactured with advantage at home.—Some conſiderations on this head may come under a future number. AMERICANUS.

(To be continued.)

Of the CONSTITUTION—*and* AMENDMENTS *to the ſame.*

THE tranſactions which have taken place in our country, fill every patriotic mind with pleaſure; inaſmuch as they realize the confidence which had been repoſed in the native good ſenſe of the people; that whenever their public affairs get obviouſly wrong, they would interfere, and ſet them to rights.—The example of changing a conſtitution, by aſſembling the wiſe men of the States, inſtead of aſſembling armies, will be worth as much to the world, as the former examples America has given it.—The conſtitution which has been the reſult of our deliberations, is unqueſtionably, the wiſeſt ever yet preſented to men; and the accommodations of intereſts, which it has adopted, are greatly pleaſing to thoſe, who have been anxiouſly concerned upon this point, having realized how difficult it was to accommodate thoſe intereſts.

A great concurrence of opinion, however, authoriſes to ſay, that this conſtitution has ſome defects: It is, perhaps, not one of the leaſt, that the important rights, not placed in ſecurity by the frame of the conſtitution itſelf, were not explicitly ſecured by a ſupplementary declaration. There are rights, which it is uſeleſs to ſurrender to the government; and which, yet, governments have been always fond to invade:—There are the rights of thinking, and publiſhing our thoughts, by ſpeaking and writing: the rights of free commerce: the right of perſonal freedom: There are inſtruments for adminiſtering the government, ſo peculiarly truſt-worthy, that we ſhould never leave the legiſlature at liberty to change them.—The new conſtitution has ſecured theſe in the legiſlative and executive departments; but not in the judiciary.—It ſhould have eſtabliſhed trials by the people themſelves, that is to ſay by jury. There are inſtruments ſo dangerous to the rights of the nation, and which place them ſo totally at the mercy of their governors, that thoſe governors, whether legiſlative or executive, ſhould be reſtrained from keeping ſuch inſtruments on foot, but in well defined caſes. Such an inſtrument is a ſtanding army.

Such a ſupplement to the conſtitution, where that is ſilent, is wanting to ſecure us in theſe points. The general voice has legitimated this objection; and though it does not authoriſe us to conſider as a defect, the perpetual re-eligibility of the Preſident, but three States out of eleven having declared againſt this, it may nevertheleſs be conſidered as one, and ſhould the majority change their opinion, as to this point, yet it is devoutly to be wiſhed, that this may remain unaltered, as long as we can avail ourſelves of the ſervices of our great leader, whoſe talents, and whoſe weight of character, are peculiarly neceſſary, to get the government ſo under way, as that it may afterwards be carried on by ſubordinate characters.

Under the auſpices of this conſtitution, adminiſtered with juſtneſs, firmneſs and wiſdom, our America muſt rapidly advance to diſtinguiſhed eminence, power and proſperity: and the perfecting this conſtitution, by the addition of ſuch a ſupplementary declaration as is above ſuggeſted, may be the reſult of the ſame calm deliberation and greatneſs of mind, which led to the ratification of the ſyſtem—for if this cannot be effected *quietly* and *peaceably*, the conſtitution had better, infinitely better, be left to deſcend to poſterity as it is, than to hazard ſo invaluable a jewel on the ocean of public diſcord.

NATIONAL POLITENESS.

EVERY friend of taſte and ſentimental improvement, muſt wiſh to encourage the THEATRE, unleſs they ſuppoſe that it is injurious to the morals of the people, and oppoſed to the ſpirit of republicaniſm.—But ſtill the beſt friend the theatre can boaſt, may imagine it is liable to errors; and among theſe errors, may it not be reckoned one, that an *Engliſh* play ſhould introduce a *French* character, in ſuch a manner, as to excite deriſion and contempt? To burleſque and ſport with foreign manners, is, in any inſtance, rather barbarous and unpolite; but in the caſe of the Engliſh comic writers, it is an unpardonable injuſtice committed againſt their own countrymen. Who can be ſo little acquainted with the diverſified qualifications of the Engliſh nation, as not to know that they abound in ſuitable characters for every deſcription of theatrical exhibitions? Wit, and ridicule, may have a full ſcope without wandering into other countries for objects.—What excuſe can therefore be offered, that their comic writers, ſhould neglect their countrymen, in order to drag the lower orders of Frenchmen on the ſtage. Such unpoliteneſs reflects more diſhonor on the nation that countenances it, than on that againſt which the ridicule is levelled: I could wiſh American politeneſs may bear teſtimony againſt ſuch partiality and prejudice.

CIVIS.

SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1789.

Mr. BLAND aſked leave of abſence for ſix weeks, which was granted.

A meſſage was recived from the Senate, informing the Houſe of their concurring in the report ſent up, reſpecting the receiving bills and meſſages from The Preſident.

It was then voted, that the Chairman of that Committee, be inſtructed to acquaint the Preſident with the arrangement upon this ſubject, adopted by both Houſes.

In Committee of the whole.

Mr. TRUMBULL in the Chair.

The bill, regulating the collection of the Revenue, having been aſſigned for the order of the day, was taken into conſideration.

The firſt paragraph being read, which provided, that "*there ſhould be ports of entry*," Mr. LEE roſe, to enquire into the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ports of entry *only*.

Mr. MADISON anſwered the enquiry, by ſaying, that it will be proper to conſtitute ſome ports of entry in ſituations where it would be productive of unneceſſary expenſe to eſtabliſh officers to ſuperintend the delivery of cargoes: Long navigable rivers afford great conveniences, for landing goods, as veſſels may be proceeding up ſuch rivers to the port of deſtination: This fraud upon the revenue ſhould be guarded againſt, by obliging veſſels to report their cargoes immediately on entering ſuch rivers.

Mr. WADSWORTH obſerved, that it would embarraſs trade exceedingly to eſtabliſh ports of entry, that ſhould not at the ſame time be ports of diſcharge: He moved to have the article ſtruck out.

Mr. LEE ſtated to the Houſe the difficulties which had reſulted from ſimilar eſtabliſhments in Virginia; and therefore ſeconded the motion to expunge the article.

Mr. FITZSIMONS ſaid, that inſtances no doubt might be mentioned, which would plainly point out the neceſſity of ſuch a proviſion as the article referred to; but as there appeared ſome difficulty in the way of determining upon the proper ſituations for ſuch ports, he moved, that the article ſhould be paſſed over for the preſent; and the next in order taken up: Agreeably it was voted to ſuſpend the conſideration of the firſt article reſpecting ports of entry.

A meſſage from THE PRESIDENT being announced, the committee roſe.

The meſſage was then received—by which the Houſe was informed, that THE PRESIDENT had approved of an act, regulating the time and manner of taking certain oaths, required by the conſtitution, and now returned the ſame to the Houſe in which it originated, with his ſignature.

The Clerk of the Houſe was directed to inform the Senate of the above circumſtance.

The chairman of the committee then reported progreſs in the bill, and aſked leave to ſit again to-morrow upon the ſame ſubject, this paſſed in the affirmative.

Mr. BENSON gave notice, that immediately after the buſineſs now aſſigned, was compleated, he ſhould move for a reſolution to the following effect—That it ſhould be recommended to the legiſlature of the State of Rhode-Iſland, to call a convention of the people of that State, in order to adopting and ratifying the federal conſtitution agreeably to the recommendation of the late Congreſs. Mr. Benſon obſerved, that the communications which had been received from the executive of Rhode-Iſland, reſpecting the proceedings of that State upon the Conſtitution, had not been noticed by the late Congreſs, in as much as they had not followed their directions in the mode of deliberating upon the ſubject.—He ſuppoſed, that an interference of Congreſs in ſome ſuch way as he propoſed, might be proper to aſcertain whether any thing deciſive had been done by them in the buſineſs or not.

Mr. BALDWIN from the committee appointed on Monday laſt, to form an eſtimate of the compenſation which it may be proper to allow *The Preſident*, *Vice-Preſident*, *Senators* and *Repreſentatives* of the United States, reported, that the ſum of *twenty thouſand dollars* per annum, be allowed *The Preſident*, excluſive of the ſalaries of Secretaries, Aids and Clerks—That be allowed to defray the expenſes of houſhold furniture, carriages, &c. and for keeping the ſame in repair.

That *five thouſand dollars* per annum, be allowed to the *Vice-Preſident*.

That the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Repreſentatives be allowed *twelve dollars* per day—and the members of the Senate and Houſe, *ſix dollars* each per day; and *ſix dollars* for each days travelling expenſes, reckoning twenty miles to a day.

This report was laid upon the table.

Mr. SMITH (of South-Carolina) introduced his motion for the appointment of a committee, to to bring in a bill for the eſtabliſhing a permanent ſyſtem reſpecting bankruptcy, throughout the United States.—This motion having paſſed in the affirmative, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Lawrance*, and Mr. *Ames* were appointed a committee, accordingly.—*Adjourned.*

TUESDAY, JUNE 2.

On motion of Mr. PAGE, it was voted unanimouſly, that thoſe members who had not taken the oath required by the Conſtitution, ſhould be called on to attend the Speaker, for that purpoſe—accordingly eighteen members appeared, and had the oath adminiſtered to them;—after which the Speaker adminiſtered the requiſite oath to the Clerk of the Houſe.

Mr. BALDWIN, from the committee appointed to bring in a bill, or bills, purſuant to the reſolution for inſtituting the three ſubordinate executive departments, reported two bills—One for the arrangement of the *War Department*—the other for the *Department* of *Foreign Affairs*:—Theſe bills provide in ſubſtance, for bringing under the direction of theſe Departments, by orders from the Preſident, thoſe national objects which had come within their cognizance, under the old Confederation.

It was voted, that 100 copies of theſe bills be ſtruck off, for the accommodation of the members.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole; and reſumed the bill for the collection of the revenue.

On motion, it was voted, that the conſideration of the two *firſt articles*, ſhould be poſtponed; the *third article*, which is in theſe words, viz. "*That there ſhall alſo be conſtituted the following ports, which ſhall be ports both of entry and delivery, to wit:*" was taken up—when Mr. LIVERMORE propoſed, that

Portſmouth, in New Hampſhire, ſhould be one of the ports of entry and delivery, to fill up the blank.

Machias and *Portland* were next mentioned; upon which many obſervations were made by different members—chiefly with reſpect to the number of ports for *entry* and *delivery*, which it might be neceſſary to conſtitute: The committee appeared to be divided in ſentiment; and ſome gentlemen having obſerved, that they were not ſufficient prepared to decide what ports would be moſt ſuitable in the ſeveral States, it was moved, that the committee ſhould riſe, and make the further conſideration of the bill the order of the day for to morrow.

The vote on this motion being taken, it paſſed in the negative.

The Committee then proceeded in filling up the blank, when the following ports were agreed upon, *viz.*

Portſmouth, in *Newhampſhire*.
Portland, } *Maſſachuſetts.*
Newburyport, }
Glouceſter, }
Salem, }
Marblehead, }
Boſton, }
Plymouth, }
Dighton, }
New Bedford, }
Sherburne, *Nantucket*, }
New London, } *Connecticut.*
New Haven, }
Norwalk, }
City of New York, } *State of New York.*
Sag Harbour, }
Perth Amboy, } *New Jerſey.*
Egg Harbour, }
Salem, }
Philadelphia, *Pennſylvania.*
Wilmington, *Delaware.*

The Committee then roſe, and the Chairman reported progreſs.

A motion was introduced and adopted, that the committee which had reported the bill for collecting the revenue, ſhould be inſtructed to prepare a bill, or bills, providing for the regiſtering of veſſels, aſcertaining their tonnage, regulating pilotage, light-houſes, &c.

—*Adjourned.*

NEW-YORK, JUNE 3, 1789.

ORIGINAL, AUTHENTIC, *and* RECENT ACCOUNTS *from* EUROPE.

THESE ſtare—That the change in *France* is ſuch as we can form no idea of. The frivolities of converſation have given way entirely to politics. Men, women, and children talk nothing elſe:

That the preſs groans with daily productions, which in point of boldneſs, make an Engliſhman ſtare, who has hitherto thought himſelf the boldeſt of men. A compleat revolution in the government of that country, has, within two years (beginning with the Notables of 1787) been effected, merely by the force of public opinion; and this revolution has not coſt a ſingle life:

That the aſſembly of the States' General was to begin the 27th of April, in which the repreſentation of the people will be perfect, but will be alloyed by an equal number of the Clergy and Nobility. The firſt queſtion they will have to decide will be, Whether they ſhall vote by orders, or by perſons. It is ſuppoſed, upon good grounds, that the majority of the Nobles are already diſpoſed to join the *Tiers Etat*—in deciding that the vote ſhall be by perſons; this is the opinion *a-la-mode* at preſent, and *mode* has acted a wonderful part in the preſent inſtance: all the handſome young women, for example, are for the *Tiers Etat*—and this is an army, more powerful in France, than 200,000 men of the King; add to this, that the court itſelf is for the *Tiers Etat*, as the only agent that can call forth reſources which have hitherto lain dormant in the hands of the non-contributing orders:

That the King has engaged to relinquiſh the power of laying, continuing, or appropriating taxes—He has engaged alſo to call the STATES-GENERAL periodically—to ſubmit Letters de Cachet to legal reſtriction—to conſent to the freedom of the preſs; and that all this ſhall be fixed, by a fundamental Conſtitution, which ſhall bind his ſucceſſors:

That a participation in the Legiſlature will be inſiſted on—the public mind being ſo ripened upon all theſe ſubjects, that there ſeems now to be but one opinion: That the Clergy, however, have an opinion of their own, and different from this—alſo the old men among the Nobles; but their voice is ſuppreſſed among the general one of the nation:

That the writings which have been publiſhed on this occaſion, are ſome of them very valuable, becauſe unfettered by the prejudices under which the Engliſh labor. They give a full ſcope to reaſon, and ſtrike out truths as yet unperceived, and unacknowledged in Britain: An Engliſhman, dozing under a kind of half-reformation, is not excited to think, by ſuch groſs abſurdities as ſtare a Frenchman in the face wherever he looks, whether it be towards the throne, or towards the altar.

It appears upon the whole, that France will have as full a portion of liberty dealt out to her as ſhe can bear at preſent, conſidering how uninformed the maſs of her people is: This circumſtance may prevent an immediate eſtabliſhment of the trial by jury.

The paliſied ſtate of the executive in England, is a fortunate circumſtance for France, as it affords them time to arrange their affairs internally: The conſolidation and funding of their debts, will give France a credit which will enable them to do what they pleaſe.

It is pretty certain, that the war, for the preſent year, will be confined to the two Empires and Denmark, againſt Turkey and Sweden: Pruſſia may be engaged: The diſturbances of Poland may break out into overt acts; but it will be a power divided in itſelf, and ſo of no weight. France and England may be ready to take the field next year.

The Engliſh papers, and the Engliſh miniſtry ſay their King is well. He is better; but not well. No malady requires a longer time to enſure againſt its return, than inſanity: Time alone can diſtinguiſh accidental inſanity from habitual lunacy.

That nation, however, has in its own true ſtile, run into all the extravagance of expenſive rejoicings on this event: How far this ſpirit has been aided by the reflection, that Mr. PITT, in conſequence, is to continue at the head of affairs, may not be difficult to determine; certain it is, no miniſter was ever more popular—nor held that popularity upon more independent principles.

The Emperor of Germany has made immenſe preparations for proſecuting the enſuing campaign; but the people are heartily tired of the war, and anxiouſly waiting for peace, which by recent accounts from Turkey there is reaſon to expect the Porte is diſpoſed to ſue for.

HUMOUR.

[The HUMOUR of the following, will pleaſe thoſe who know the ſubject; eſpecially as it evinces that *wit* and *good nature* are perfectly compatible]

From the INDEPENDENT GAZETTEER.

On the Departure of MICHAEL DENNISON,* *(for ſome years Maſter of the* George Inn, *Philadelphia) for England.*

HIS bulk encreas'd by ale and veniſon,
Alas! we ſoon muſt loſe good *Denniſon.*
City of *Penn!* the loſs deplore,
Although with pain his bulk you bore;
And *England!* haſte thy ſon to hail,
Who, after weathering many a gale
Eager thy glories to behold,
Returns, improv'd in fleſh and gold.
Ah! had it, *Michael!* been thy lot,
To boaſt the virtue of a *Scot*,
That land, where thou ſo *great* haſt grown,
Might ſtill have claim'd thee for her own.
But England, with pernicious ſmiles,
Thoſe ſons, whom once ſhe loſt, beguiles,
Beckons them ſlyly to her ſhore,
If worthy to be wafted o'er;
And by her ſoft, alluring ſtrains,
Whate'er ſhe loſt in war, regains.

Soon as the planks beneath you crack,
The market ſhall be hung with black;
Michael! her ſtores might well content ye;
In Britain none boaſts greater plenty.
The *bank* ſhall with the *market* join,
To weep at once *thee and thy coin.*
Thy dollars, rang'd in many a pile,
Shall ſwell the pride of Britain's iſle,
Whilſt *England's* bank ſhall ſmiling greet,
The wealth which came from *Cheſnut-ſtreet.*

Michael, farewel! Heaven ſpeed thy courſe;
Saint George take with thee, and his *horſe*;
But to our hapleſs city kind,
The watchful *dragon* leave behind.
Michael! your wealth and full-ſpread frame
Shall publiſh *Pennſylvania's* fame
More loudly, than the pens of thoſe,
Who long have puffed in verſe or proſe.
Few in myſterious ſcience deal;
But all men either ſee or feel.
Michael, farewel! When in *Carliſle*,† I laugh to think how thou wilt ſmile
At all the dangers thou haſt paſt,
Moor'd in ſafe anchoring ground at laſt.

NOTES.

* *The counterpart in ſize of a Fellow-Citizen, Mr. S.*
† *Carliſle in Great-Britain.*

INSCRIPTION.

There are now laying in the War-Office, waiting the orders of the Heirs of the late General GREENE, two braſs FIELD PIECES, ſix pounders; on each of which is the following Inſcription, ornamented with wreaths of flowers, and the arms of the United States, finely executed in relievo—by Mr. Andrew Billings, of Poughkeepſie.

TAKEN
from the Britiſh army,
and preſented,
By Order of The United States in Congreſs aſſembled,
to
MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE,
as a monument
of their high ſenſe of the
WISDOM—FORTITUDE—AND MILITARY TALENTS,
which diſtinguiſhed his Command
In the Southern Department;
and of
The eminent Services,
which,
amidſt complicated Dangers and Difficulties,
He performed for
HIS COUNTRY,
OCTOBER the 18th. 1783.

OF MACHINES AND MANUFACTURES.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in North-Britain, to a gentleman reſiding in one of the middle States of the Union, dated 9th of February, 1789.

"Notwithſtanding the immenſe bankruptcies in Britain laſt year, yet Britain to my ſurpriſe, is in a very flouriſhing way—Ireland is alſo riſing faſt, and never was in a more flouriſhing condition, owing to her extended and encreaſing manufactures, which ſhe has encouraged, not only by bounties, but by heavy protecting duties. The Dublin ſociety give at leaſt £. 25,000 ſterl. per annum in premiums and bounties; and the truſtees for encouraging fiſheries and manufactories in Scotland, diſtribute about £. 15,000 per annum.

"Mills for ſpinning long and combed wool have been erected at Derby, Glaſgow, &c. and go by water—and a mill for ſpinning flax and hemp by water, is erected at Darlington in the north of England—When this laſt comes to be general, I dont know what the ſpinners of linen yarn in Scotland will do.

"Cotton and flax mills, &c. are erecting, where there is no water to drive them, they are to go by ſteam engines. There are juſt now models of jennies, or little hand machines, to ſpin 40 or 50 threads at a time of linen yarn, laid before the truſtees office here.—Cloth now can be wove by one man, ſeven yards wide' and an attempt is juſt now trying to make looms weave by water.

"The improvements making in machinary in Britain, for the reduction of labour, are very many. In a country ſo full of hands, I think muſt be hurtful at laſt, but in America ſuch machines would be a great benefit.

"Your duties upon imported goods of 2½,—5,—and 7½ per cent. are ſcarcely equal to our cuſtom-houſe fees.—I am hopeful, however, that your new government will be the means of making you more reſpected in Britain, where, though you are their very beſt cuſtomer, their papers are continually loading you with opprobrious names, and deſcribing you as in a very miſerable ſituation.

"The Sunday ſchools have been of great benefit in England and Scotland.—The long peace, and no account from the fleet that ſailed two years ago for Botany Bay, make the number of vagrants, robbers, &c. in Britain very great—The priſons are full."

The foregoing letter proves to the people of the United States the increaſing advantages of manufactoring by machines; and at this criſis it will be a great public ſatisfaction, to hear that the ingenious Mr. Robert Leſlie, a native of Maryland, has commenced a muſeum in Philadelphia, for the purpoſe of collecting every model, drawing, or deſcription, of any machine, implement, or tool, which is employed in foreign countries, in manufactures or the uſeful arts. Mr. Leſlie has been ſome years a member of the reſpectable company of watch and clock makers in this city, and has given ſeveral proofs of dexterity and ſkill, in the curious buſineſs of mechaniſm.

OF TITLES.

[From a CORRESPONDENT.]

It has been obſerved, that Titles are not neceſſary to confer power, or importance: This has been verified emphatically in the Eaſt-Indies—where a ſimple *Governour-General* has proved as great a terror and ſcourge to the human race, as the Moſt High, Moſt Puiſſant, and *Moſt* Omnipotent Son of Mahomet with a *hundred titles* ever did.

The diſtinctions of rank among mankind, neceſſarily include certain Titles, by which thoſe diſtinctions may be known: Theſe Titles originate in reaſon, and are confirmed and arranged by laws, by cuſtom, and common conſent: They obtain in every country—in every ſociety—whether ſavage or civilized: From this original propenſity, implanted in our natures for ſome valuable purpoſe, mankind have been led (as in many other inſtances) to groſs concluſions—and becauſe order and diſtinction were neceſſary, they have moſt abſurdly applied Titles, and Epithets of diſtinction to their fellow worms, which ſhould be appropriated only to Deity.—May we be ſo wiſe as to draw a proper line of diſtinction, and not leave this important ſubject to chance, to whim, caprice, or accident, to determine it—by which we may incur a ſimilar character with thoſe we juſtly deſpiſe.

If it be true, that "a free people are the moſt addicted to luxury of any"—how important is it, that Government ſhould make ſuch arrangements, as ſhould abate the fervor of this diſpoſition, by giving the moſt favourable direction to the independent impulſes of the free born mind:—Literary Inſtitutions—Arts—Induſtry—Commerce, and Agriculture, form the moſt happy antidotes to exceſſive luxury.

It were devoutly to be wiſhed, ſays a correſpondent, that in the arrangement of the great Departments of State, more particularly of the *Revenue*, we may be ſo fortunate, as to ſteer clear of thoſe miſtakes, which contributed very much to ſhipwreck the power of Britain in America:—Every perſon can recollect the *hauteur of department*, and the *inſolence of office*, which marked the whole chain of dependents, eſpecially in the *cuſtoms*, from the commiſſioner's board down to the humbleſt quill-driver at the deſk.

It is characteriſtic of ignorance and coxcombiſm to affect a contemptuous, overbearing, haughty carriage—and although it may paſs with impunity for a time, as twenty deſpiſe in *ſilence*, where one expreſſes an *open* reſentment; yet it muſt be conſidered as a nuiſance, to have ſuch characters in office, as bring government into contempt, and prove highly injurious to the public ſervice.

As the majority of mankind diſcover their *diſqualifications* for office, by exhibiting certain traits of character that are hoſtile to the public intereſt. it is difficult to account for many appointments that take place in various departments—for although *great talents* may be connected with a *vicious mind*, yet it will invariably happen, that the former cannot compenſate for the miſchiefs which may prove the reſult of temptation to the latter. In this caſe, how critically poized is the intereſt of the community.

In Maſſachuſetts, His Excellency JOHN HANCOCK, is choſen *Governor*, His Honor SAMUEL ADAMS, *Lieutenant-Governor*; and the Honorable DAVID COBB, Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

About eighty members of the Houſe and Senate, returned this, were not in the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts laſt year.

The Honorable THEODORE SEDGWICK, Eſq. is elected a member of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States—by this event, the repreſentation from Maſſachuſetts is compleated.

The Royal Society of London have lately elected the Honorable JAMES BOWDOIN, Eſq. of Boſton, a member of their illuſtrious body, and a Diploma, we are informed, was received by Capt. Scott.

ARRIVALS.

At the Port of New-York.

Saturday.	Schooner Little Joſeph, Miner,	Waſhington, N.C.
	Sloop Maria, Elliott,	Charleſton. 11 days.
	Sloop Aurora, Cahoone,	Rhode-Iſland. 2 days.
	Sloop Peggy, Cahoone,	Rhode-Iſland. 2 days.
Sunday.	Ship Betſey, Faith,	Jamaica.
	Sloop Lively, Tanner,	Philadelphia. 3 days.
Monday,	Sloop Betſey, Burrows,	Philrdelphia. 12 days.
Theſday.	Sloop Betſey, Brooks,	Philadelphia. 6 days.

COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

PHILADELPHIA.

Bills exchange,	London, 90 days,	70
Ditto,	60 days,	72½
Ditto,	30 days,	74
Amſterdam,	60 days, per guilder,	3ſ
	30 days,	3ſ1
France,	60 days, per 5 livres,	7ſ1
	30 days,	7ſ4

CURRENT PRICE OF PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Depreciation funded and militia or ſtate debt,	*according to intereſt due* 6ſ6—7ſ6
Depreciation unfunded,	6ſ
New loan, *(according to intereſt due)*	4ſ10—5ſ4
Common Land-Office certificates, on par & intereſt,	5ſ
Land-Office certificates, for patenting,	7ſ6
State money of 1781,	133 1-3 to 140 for 100
Continental certificates *(indented to 31 December 1787)*	5ſ
Indents or Facilities,	3ſ4—3ſ6
Paper money of Pennſylvania 24 per cent diſcount.	
Ditto of Jerſey,	33 1-3 to 35 diſcount.

The RIGHT GOVERNMENT *of a* COMMONWEALTH EXAMINED.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

But we muſt not rely upon theſe general obſervations alone: let us deſcend to a particular conſideration of our author's examples, in every one of which he is very unfortunate. The retirement of Cincinnatus to the country was not his choice, but his neceſſity: Cæſo, his ſon, had offended the people by an outrageous oppoſition to their honeſt ſtruggles for liberty, and had been fined for a crime; the father, rather than let his bondſmen ſuffer, paid the forfeiture of his recognizance, reduced himſelf to poverty, and the neceſſity of retiring to his ſpade or plough. Did the people intreat and force him back to Rome? No; it was the ſenate in oppoſition to the people, who dreaded his high ariſtocratical principles, his powerful connections, and perſonal reſentments. Nor did he diſcover the leaſt reluctance to the ſervice ordained him by the ſenate, but accepted it without heſitation. All this appears in Livy, clearly contradictory to every ſentiment of our author.* At another time, when diſputes ran ſo high between the tribunes and the ſenate, that ſeditions were apprehended, the ſenators exerted themſelves in the centuries for the election of Cincinnatus, to the great alarm and terror of the people.† Cincinnatus, in ſhort, although his moral character and private life were irreproachable among the plebeians, appears to have owed his appointments to office, not to them, but the Senate; and not for popular qualities, but for ariſtocratical ones, and the determined oppoſition of himſelf and his whole family to the people. He appears to have been forced into ſervice by no party; but to have been as willing, as he was an able, inſtrument of the ſenate. In order to ſee the inaptitude of this example in another point of view, let the queſtion be aſked, What would have been the fortune of Cincinnatus, if Nedham's "right conſtitution" had then been the government of Rome? The anſwer muſt be, that he would have loſt his election, moſt probably even in the repreſentative aſſembly: moſt certainly he would never have been conſul, dictator, or commander of armies, becauſe he was unpopular. This example, then, is no argument in favor of our author, but a ſtrong one againſt him.

If we recollect the character and actions of Curius, we ſhall find them equally concluſive in favor of balanced government, and againſt our author's plan. M. Curius Dentatus, in the year of Rome 462, obtained as conſul a double triumph, for forcing the Samnites to ſue for peace. This nation, having their country laid waſte, ſent their principal men as ambaſſadors, to offer preſents to Curius for his credit with the ſenate, in order to their obtaining favorable terms of peace. They found him ſitting on a ſtool before the fire, in his little houſe in the country, and eating his dinner out of a wooden diſh. They opened their deputation, and offered him the gold and ſilver. He anſwered them politely, but refuſed the preſents.‡ He then added ſomewhat which at this day does not appear ſo very poliſhed: "I think it glorious to command the owners of gold, not to poſſeſs it myſelf." And which paſſion do you think is the worſt, the love of gold, or this pride and ambition? His whole eſtate was ſeven acres of land, and he ſaid once in aſſembly, "that a man who was not "contented with ſeven acres of land, was a per-"nicious citizen." As we paſs, it may be proper to remark the difference of times and circumſtances. How few in America could eſcape the cenſure of pernicious citizens, if Curius's rule were eſtabliſhed. Is there one of our yeoman contented with ſeven acres? How many are diſcontented with ſeventy times ſeven! Examples, then, drawn from times of extreme poverty, and a ſtate of a verry narrow territory, ſhould be applied to our circumſtances with great diſcretion. As long as the ariſtocracy laſted, a few of thoſe rigid characters appeared from time to time in the Roman ſenate. Cato was one to the laſt, and went expreſsly to viſit the houſe of Curius, in the country of the Sabines; was never weary of viewing it, contemplating the virtues of its ancient owner, and deſiring warmly to imitate them. But, though declamatory writers might call the conduct of Curius "*exactiſſima Romanæ frugalitatis norma*," it was not the general character, even of the ſenators, at that time: avarice raged like a fiery furnace in the minds of creditors, moſt of whom were patricians; and equal avarice and injuſtice in the minds of plebeians, who, inſtead of aiming at moderating the laws againſt debtors, would be content with nothing ſhort of a total abolition of debts. Only two years after this, viz. in 465, ſo tenacious were the patricians and ſenators of all the rigor of their power over debtors, that Veturius, the ſon of a conſul, who had been reduced by poverty to borrow money at an exorbitant intereſt, was delivered up to his creditor; and that infamous uſurer, C. Plotius, exacted from him all the ſervices of a ſlave, and the ſenate would grant no relief: and when he attempted to ſubject his ſlave to a brutal paſſion, which the laws did not tolerate, and ſcourged him with rods becauſe he would not ſubmit, all the puniſhment which the conſuls and ſenate would impoſe on Plotius was impriſonment. This anecdote proves, that the indifference to wealth was far from being general, either among patricians or plebeians; and that it was confined to a few patrician families, whoſe tenaciouſneſs of the maxims and manners of their anceſtors *proudly* tranſmitted it from age to age. In 477 Curius was conſul a ſecond time, when the plague, and a war with Pyrrhus, had laſted ſo long as to threaten the final ruin of the nation, and obliged the centuries to chooſe a ſevere character, not becauſe he was beloved, but becauſe his virtues and abilities alone could ſave the ſtate. The auſtere character of the conſul was accompanied by correſponding auſterities, in this time of calamity, in the cenſors, who degraded ſeveral knights and ſenators, and among the reſt Rufinus, who had been twice conſul and once dictator, for extravagance and luxury. Pyrrhus was defeated, and Curius again triumphed: and becauſe a continuance of the war with Pyrrhus was expected, again elected conſul, in 478. In 480 he was cenſor. After all, he was ſo little beloved, that an accuſation was brought againſt him for having converted the public ſpoils to his own uſe; and he was not acquitted till he had ſworn that no part of them had entered his houſe but a wooden bowl, which he uſed in ſacrifice. All theſe ſublime virtues, and magnanimous actions of Curius, make nothing in favor of Nedham. He was a patrician, a ſenator, and a conſul; he had been taught by ariſtocratical anceſtors, formed in an ariſtocratical ſchool, and was full of ariſtocratical pride. He does not appear to have been a popular man, either among the ſenators in general, or the plebeians. Rufinus, his rival, with his plate and luxury, appears to have been more beloved, by his being appointed dictator. Notwithſtanding that, the cenſors, on the prevalence of Curius's party, in a time of diſtreſs, were able to diſgrace him.

It was in 479 that the ſenate received an embaſſy from Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and ſent four of the principal men in Rome, Q. Fabius Gurges, C. Fabius Piſtor, Numer. Fabius Piſtor, and Q. Ogulnius, ambaſſadors to Egypt, to return the compliment. Q. Fabius, who was at the head of the embaſſy, was prince of the ſenate, and on his return reported their commiſſion to the ſenate: ſaid that the king had received them in the moſt obliging and honorable manner: that he had ſent them magnificent preſents on their arrival, which they had deſired him to excuſe them from accepting: that at a feaſt, before they took leave, the king had ordered crowns of gold to be given them, which they placed upon his ſtatues the next day: that on the day of their departure, the king had given them preſents far more magnificent than the former, reproaching them, in a moſt obliging manner, for not having accepted them: theſe they had accepted, with moſt profound reſpect, not to offend the king, but that, on their arrival in Rome, they had depoſited them in the public treaſury: that Ptolemy had received the alliance of the Roman people with joy. The ſenate were much pleaſed, and gave thanks to the ambaſſadors for having rendered the manners of the Romans venerable to foreigners by their ſincere diſintereſtedneſs: but decreed, that *the rich preſents depoſited in the treaſury ſhould be reſtored to them*, and the people expreſſed their ſatisfaction in this decree. Theſe preſents were undoubtedly immenſely rich; but where was the people's care to make the ſervice a burthen? Thanks of the ſenate are no burthens; immenſe preſents in gold and ſilver, voted out of the treaſury into the hands of the ambaſſadors, were no "ſlender advantages "of profit or pleaſure," at a time when the nation was extremely poor, and no individual in it very rich. But, moreover, three of theſe ambaſſadors were Fabii, of one of thoſe few ſimple, frugal, ariſtocratical families, who neither made advantage of the law in favor of creditors, to make great profits out of the people by exorbitant uſury on one hand, nor gave largeſſes to the people to bribe their affection on the other: ſo that, although they were reſpected and eſteemed by all, they were not hated nor much beloved by any; and ſuch is the fate of men of ſuch ſimple manners at this day in all countries. Our author's great miſtake lies in his quoting examples from a balanced government, as proofs in favor of a government without a balance. The ſenate and people were at this time checks on each others avarice: the people were the electors into office, but none, till very lately, could be choſen but patricians; none of the ſenators, who enriched themſelves by plundering the public of lands or goods, or by extravagant uſury from the people, could expect their votes to be conſuls or other magiſtrates; and there was no commerce or other means of enriching themſelves: all, therefore, who were ambitious of ſerving in magiſtracies, were obliged to be poor. To this conſtant check and balance between the ſenate and people, the production and the continuance of theſe frugal and ſimple patrician characters and families appear to be owing.

(To be continued.)

NOTES.

* Plebis concurſus ingens fuit: ſed ea, nequaquam, tam læta Quintium vidit; et imperii nimirum, et virum, in ipſo imperio vehementiorem rata. Liv. lib. iii c. 26.

† Summo patrum ſtudio, L. Quintius Cincinnatus, pater Ceſonis, conſul creatur, qui magiſtratum ſtatim acciperet, perculſa erat plebs conſulem habitura, iratum, potentem favore patrum, virtute ſuâ, tribus liberis, &c.

‡ Val. Max. iv. 1. Cic. de Senec. 55. Senec. Epiſt. v. Cic. pro Flacco, 28. Plin. Nat. xviii. 2.

An ESSAY *on* FREE TRADE *and* FINANCES; *particularly ſhewing what ſupplies of public Revenue may be drawn from* Merchandiſe, *without injuring our Trade or burdening our people.*

[By a Citizen of Philadelphia in 1788.]

Having lately publiſhed a diſſertation on the political union and conſtitution, which is neceſſary for the preſervation and happineſs of the Thirteen United States of North-America, I now go on to conſider ſome of the great departments of buſineſs, which muſt fall under the management of the great council of the union, and their officers.

The firſt thing which naturally offers itſelf to conſideration, is the expence of government; this is a *ſine qua non* of the whole, and all its parts. No kind of admininiſtration can be carried on without expence, and the ſcale or degree of plan and execution muſt ever be limited by it. Two grand conſiderations offer themſelves here. (1.) *The eſtimate of the expences which government requires; and* (2.) *Such ways and means of raiſing ſufficient money to defray them, as will be moſt eaſy, and leaſt hurtful and oppreſſive to the ſubject.*

The firſt is not my preſent principal object: I ſhall therefore only obſerve upon it, that the wants of government, like the wants of nature, are few, and eaſily ſupplied; 'tis luxury which incurs the moſt expence, and drinks up the largeſt fountains of ſupply, and what is moſt to be lamented, the ſame luxury which drinks up the greateſt ſupplies, does at the ſame time corrupt the body, enervate its ſtrength, and waſte thoſe powers which are deſigned for uſe, ornament or delight. The ways and means of ſupply are the object of my principal attention at preſent. I will premiſe a few propoſitions which appear to me to deſerve great conſideration here.

I. When a ſum of money is wanted, *one way of raſing it may be much eaſier than another.* This is equally true in ſtates as in individuals. A man muſt always depend for ſupply on thoſe articles which he can beſt ſpare, or which he can diminiſh with leaſt inconvenience: He ſhould firſt ſell ſuch articles as he has purpoſely provided for market; if theſe are not enough, then ſuch articles of his eſtate as he can beſt ſpare, always ſacrificing luxuries firſt, and neceſſaries laſt of all.

II. *Any intereſt or thing whatever, on which the burden of tax is laid, is diminiſhed either in quantity or neat value*, e. g. if money is taxed, part of the ſum goes to pay the tax; if lands, part of the produce or price goes to pay it; if goods, part of the price which the goods will ſell for, goes to pay it, &c.

III. *The conſumption of any thing, on which the burthen of tax is laid, will always be thereby leſſened*, becauſe ſuch tax will raiſe the price of the articles taxed, and fewer people will be able or willing to pay ſuch advance of price, then would purchaſe, if the price was not raiſed: And conſequently.

IV. *The burden of tax ought to lie heavieſt on ſuch articles, the uſe and conſumption of which are leaſt neceſſary to the community, and lighteſt on thoſe articles, the uſe and conſumption of which are moſt neceſſary to the community.* I think this ſo plain, that it cannot need any thing ſaid on it either by way of illuſtration or proof.

V. *The ſtaples of any country are both the ſource and meaſure of its wealth*, and therefore ought to be encouraged and increaſed as far as poſſible. No country can enjoy or conſume more than they can raiſe, make or purchaſe. No country can purchaſe more than they can pay for; and no country can make payment beyond the amount of the ſurplus which remains of their ſtaples, after their conſumption is ſubſtracted. If they go beyond this, they muſt run in debt, i. e. eat the calf in the cow's belly, or conſume this year the proceeds of the next, which is a direct ſtep to ruin, and muſt if (continued,) end in deſtruction.

VI. *The great ſtaples of the United States, are our* HUSBANDRY, FISHERIES, AND MANUFACTURES. Trade comes in as the hand-maid of them all—the ſervant that tends upon them—the nurſe that takes away their redundancies and ſupplies all their wants. Theſe we may conſider as the great ſources of our wealth; and our trade, as the great conduit through which it flows. All theſe we ought in ſound policy to guard, encourage and increaſe as far as poſſible, and to load them with burdens and embarraſſments as little as poſſible.

THE PRESIDENT's HOUSEHOLD.

WHEREAS, all Servants and others, employed to procure proviſions, or ſupplies, for the Houſehold, of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, will be furniſhed with monies for thoſe purpoſes. Notice is therefore given, That no accounts, for the payment of which the Public might be conſidered as reſponſible, are to be opened with any of them.

SAMUEL FRAUNCES, Steward of the Houſehold.

MAY 4th, 1789.

☞ *Complete ſetts from the beginning, of the* GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES, *may at any time be obtained by thoſe who chuſe to ſubſcribe for that publication, at the Editor's Office, No. 9, Maiden-Lane.*

Publiſhed by JOHN FENNO, No. 9, MAIDEN-LANE, near the OSWEGO-MARKET, NEW-YORK.